

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 PM-03 CIAE-00 INR-11 NSAE-00

RSC-01 NSC-07 NSCE-00 SP-02 PRS-01 SAJ-01 TRSE-00 L-02

ACDA-10 DRC-01 /064 W

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P R 251835Z SEP 74

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2660

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION NATO

SECDEF

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 22748

LIMDIS

STATE FOR EUR - HARTMAN AND PM - VEST

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MCAF, NATO, FR

SUBJECT: LONG-RANGE DEFENSE CONCEPT FOR NATO

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REF: (A) STATE 192028; (B) USNATO 4807; (C) USNATO 4831

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: GIVEN LONG AND SENSITIVE HISTORY OF FRANCE'S SEPARATION FROM NATO'S FORMAL FORCE PLANNING PROCESS, WE RECOMMEND THAT USG NOT SEEK AT THIS TIME TO PRESS FRANCE REGARDING A "LONG-RANGE DEFENSE CONCEPT" FOR NATO. THIS NEED NOT EXCLUDE, HOWEVER, INFORMAL QUIET BILATERAL CONTACTS WITH THE FRENCH ON THE SUBJECT. FOR EXAMPLE DURING SECDEF-FRENCH MOD MEETINGS. WE SHOULD INFORM THEM OF OUR THINKING ON NATO FORCE GOALS AND KEEP THE DOOR OPEN TO THEM IN CASE THEY DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS PHASE OF NATO. END SUMMARY.
2. WE HAVE NOTED WITH INTEREST WASHINGTON'S PLANS TO FOCUS DECEMBER DPC MINISTERIAL ON CONCEPT OF A LONG-RANGE DEFENSE CONCEPT FOR NATO, INCLUDING NECESSARY CHANGES IN FORCE PLANNING PROCEDURES TO CARRY OUT THAT CONCEPT. WE GATHER THAT' AMONG OTHER THINGS, WASHINGTON IS SEEKING TO RECONCILE THE ARTIFICIAL SEPARATION BETWEEN NATO "EARMARKED FORCES" AND "NATIONAL FORCES" WHICH COULD REASONABLY BE EXPECTED TO JOIN "EARMARKED FORCES" IN THE CENTRAL REGION. THE RESOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM HAS LONG DEFIED NATO'S PLANNING PROCESS, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO BRITISH AND GERMAN NATIONAL FORCES.
3. WE ARE TROUBLED, HOWEVER, BY THE SUGGESTION THAT THIS NEW APPROACH TO NATO FORCE PLANNING SHOULD INCLUDE FRENCH FORCES (REF A, PARA 5E). SINCE FRANCE LEFT NATO'S INTEGRATED MILITARY STRUCTURE IN 1966, WE HAVE GONE TO GREAT LENGTHS -- BOTH BILATERALLY IN US-GOF DISCUSSIONS. AND MULTILATERALLY BETWEEN NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES AND FRENCH MILITARY AUTHORITIES -- TO CONSTRUCT DE FACTO ARRANGEMENTS FOR INCLUDING FRENCH FORCES IN NATO'S PLANS. OUR SUCCESS HAS BEEN CONSTRAINED BY GOF DETERMINATION TO KEEP THESE ARRANGEMENTS INFORMAL AND VERY CONFIDENTIAL.
4. THIS CLOSELY GUARDED PROCEDURE HAS RECEIVED LITTLE PUBLICITY, AND WE HAVE EVERY REASON TO EXPECT THAT IT WILL CONTINUE. MOREOVER, GIVEN FRENCH PRESIDENT GISCARD'S MORE PRAGMATIC APPROACH, WE EXPECT THAT THE GOF WILL CONFIDENTIAL

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SEEK DISCREETLY TO BROADEN ITS INFORMAL "COOPERATION" WITH NATO'S MILITARY STRUCTURE. WE SUSPECT THAT THE QUESTION OF FRANCE'S MILITARY RELATIONS WITH NATO

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2661

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 22748

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AS BEEN AND WILL BE A SUBJECT OF CONTINUED "REFLEC-
TION" BY GISCARD AND HIS IMMEDIATE ADVISERS.

5. AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND OF DE FACTO -- IF INFORMAL --
COOPERATION BETWEEN NATO AND FRANCE IN THE AREA OF MILI-
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TARY PLANNING, AND TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE CURRENT STATE OF FLUX IN THE FRENCH POLITICAL SCENE AND POTENTIALLY IN FRANCE'S DEFENSE POLICY (IN LIGHT OF GISCARD'S ON-GOING DEFENSE REVIEW)' THIS WOULD BE A PARTICULARLY INOPPORTUNE TIME TO BRING PRESSURE ON THE FRENCH TO RE-JOIN NATO'S FORMAL FORCE PLANNING SYSTEM. WE SHARE THE PERCEPTIONS OF THE BELGIANS (REF B) AND THE GERMANS (REF C) ON THIS SUBJECT. IT IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY THAT THE GOF WOULD BE PREPARED TO SIGN ON TO A "LONG-RANGE DEFENSE CONCEPT FOR NATO" AT THIS TIME, AND AS WE SUGGEST ABOVE' ANY ATTEMPT TO IMPOSE THIS IDEA ON THEM NOW COULD RISK UNDERCUTTING THE DE FACTO -- EVEN IF LESS THAN TOTALLY SATISFACTORY -- MILITARY COOPERATION THAT DOES EXIST BETWEEN FRANCE AND NATO.

6. RECOMMENDATION: WE RECOMMEND THAT THE US NOT PRESS FRANCE TO PARTICIPATE IN OUR CAMPAIGN AT NATO TO DEVELOP A "LONG-RANGE CONCEPT FOR NATO." THIS NEED NOT, OF COURSE, EXCLUDE INFORMAL, QUIET BILATERAL CONTACTS ON THE SUBJECT BETWEEN USNATO AND THE FRENCH IN BRUSSELS, AND BILATERALLY BETWEEN THE US AND THE FRENCH, FOR EXAMPLE DURING SECDEF-FRENCH MOD MEETINGS. WE SHOULD INFORM THE FRENCH OF OUR THINKING ON NATO FORCE GOALS AND KEEP THE DOOR OPEN TO THEM IN CASE THEY DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS PHASE OF NATO PLANNING. WHAT WE SHOULD AVOID, HOWEVER, IS ANY APPEARANCE OF SEEKING TO RE-INTEGRATE FRANCE FORMALLY INTO THE MILITARY STRUCTURE SHE HAS CHOSEN TO LEAVE. WE WOULD APPRECIATE WASHINGTON'S REACTION TO THIS RECOMMENDATION.

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